

Index

f=figure, n=footnote, **bold**=extended discussion or key reference

- age 83, 89, 162, 173
agriculture 84, 159, 205, 210, 212, 215, 229
agrarian economy 14, 160, 161, 163, 167, 168, 173
agribusiness 162, 180
farmers 163, 164, 171, 180, 191, 204
farming 172, 188, 208, 209, 211, 224, 229, 246
farms 161, 169, 170, 244, 247, 248
ain oo nat (lord of house) 36
Aisha **208–209**
Al-Ali, N. 120
alcohol 140, 224, 227, 235–236, 236–237
All-Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148
Alliance for Gender Inclusion in Peace Process (AGIPP) 104, 122, 126
ana (political power) 35
Anawrahta, King 85
anger 236, 260
anthropology xvii, xviii, 173, 242, 253, 255, 256, 259, 267
Arakan Army 89
Arakan State. *See* Rakhine State
arh nah deh (impolite to express true feelings) 36, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45
armed conflict xii, 2, 7, 12, 15–16, 32, 101, 107, 118–129 *passim*, 134, 167, 174, 185, 186, 221, 222, 225, 228, 234, 238, 247, 262
armed groups: further research opportunities 17–18
Ashe, F. 120
Asia Highway 162
Asia Justice and Rights 124
Asian Development Bank (ADB) 74, 75
Aung Min, U 146
Aung San 192, 192n13
Aung San Suu Kyi 3, 59–60, 88, 146, 262
failure to appoint women to cabinet 32–33
State Counsellor 5
Australia 74, 253, 261
autism 230
awza (influence) 35
Aye Thiri Kyaw **xvi, 10–11, 50–69, 87, 263**
Bamar 52, 189, 193, 102, 202, 211, 212
bananas 86, 88
Bangkok 169, 254
Bangladesh 205, 206, 212
Bauthidaung 208, 211
Bayinnaung, King 85
Beauvoir, S. de: *Second Sex* [1949] 258
Beban, A. 163–164
behavioural change 264, 267
border areas 2, 4, 142
Border Guard Force 40, 125
borderlands: gendered insecurity of **14–15, 180–199**
borrowing–lending relationships 72–73, 76n4, 90, 91
bravery 85, 247
Buddhism ix–x, 36, 265
Buddhists 52, 173, 211, 202
Burchardt, T. 51

- Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) 259
- Burman hegemony 15, 193, **201–203**, 204, 205, 210, 212, 214, 215, 216
definition 203
- Burmese Women's Union (BWU) 138, 149
- Butalia, U. 202–203
- Campbell, S. 203
- Canada 155, 243
- capitalism xi, 203, 211, 214, 215, 242, 243, 247
- Cárdenas, M. L. xvi, **11**, **118–137**
- care work 13, 138, 164, 168, 169, 188, 191, 204, 211
transformative vision for peace **16**, **242–252**
- ceasefires 2, 180, 189, 190, 193, 244. *See also* National Ceasefire Agreement
- census (2014) 188
- Cheesman, N. 73
- Chiang Mai 103, 121, 122
- chicken **208–209**, 212
- childbirth **148–149**
- children 254, 255, 259, 261
- Chin Women's Organisation (CWO) 104
- China 125–126, 248, 252
- Chua, L. J. 18
- churches **230–231**
- cities 1, 4, 103, 182
- citizenship 73, 200, 202
- Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) 91
- civil society 3, 8, 11, 12, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 62, 99, 103, 118, 124, 126, 130, 180, 221
- civil society organisations (CSOs) xvi, 31, 132, 134, 171, 172, 224, **232–233**
- civil war xvii, 3, 89, 145, 160, 184
- class 86, 89, 139, 162, 173, 174, 200–216
passim, 248, 256, 258, 264, 265
- class oppression 201, 203, 204
- cleft lip 230
- clothing 153, 154
- colonialism xi, 29, 89, 97, 260
education system 72
legacy **31–33**
- combine harvesters 168
- communal violence 5, 15, **201–203**, 213, 215, 216. *See also* conflict-related violence
- community-based dispute resolution and mediation (CBDRM) 30, 38, 40, 41, 43
- community-based organisations (CBOs) xx, 121, 134, 155, 222n, 254
- Comprehensive Education Sector Review process (2012–) 74
- conflict-affected areas 14, 16, 18, 52–53, 57, 88, 128, 129, **184–185**, 194
- conflict-related violence 57, 108, 124, 221, 222. *See also* domestic violence
- Confortini, C. 100–101
- congenital disabilities 222, 223, 230, 233
- Constitution (2008) 1, 5, 29, **33–34**, 35, 44, 57, 59, 64, 155
land and resources 161
military quotas 9–10, 33
- Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 55
- conversation pieces
Ma Khin Mar Mar Kyi and Walton 16, 17, **253–267**
Mi Sue Pwint and Zin Mar Phyo **13**, **138–149**
Naw K'nyaw Paw and Quadrini **13–14**, **150–156**
- cooking 82, 84, 88, 143, 152, 171, 187, 188, 212, 244, 245, 248, 262
- counter-insurgency 125, 150, 188, 192
'four-cuts' strategy 4, 185
- courts 38, 40, 124
- COVID-19 pandemic 56, 239

- Cox's Bazar (Bangladesh) 206, 207
 crimes against humanity 128, 150, 242
 critical discourse analysis (CDA) 71, 74
 critical race theory 265
 critical thinking 265
 cultural norms 50, 61, 170
 curricula
 analysis 74–76
 gender harmony (pre-2010) 76–83
 production 74–76
 curriculum (post-2016)
 gender 83–87
 reception 86–87
 resistance (to gender equality) 83–84
 revision process 11, 70–94
 translation 85–86
 customary leaders 34–35
 customary practices 31, 42–43, 44
 Cyclone Nargis (2008) 52, 66
- Dan Seng Lawn xvi, 15, 221–241
 Das, V. 203
 Dawei Development Association 172
 Dawei SEZ 160, 162, 163, 167, 170–173
 decision-making 8, 10, 29, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 44, 105, 107, 121, 130, 133, 142, 143, 144, 146, 154, 225, 249, 256
 democracy 2, 3, 124, 128, 130, 138, 141–144 *passim*, 151, 249, 261
 'disciplined ~' 33
 federal ~ xix, 127, 133
 Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA) 162, 167
 Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) 40
 democratic transition era (2010–2021) 5–6, 14, 16, 118, 123, 125, 126, 134, 139, 190, 192, 193, 200, 264
 Karen women 154–156, 248
 politics 9–11, 27–94
 pursuit of Burman hegemony 15
 situated in gendered everyday 182–184
 women's mobilisation, activism, policy-making 10–11, 50–69
 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS, 2015) 61
 demonetisation (bank notes) 140
 Denmark 74
 depression 251
 development 159, 181
 usage 70n
 development ideology 71–73
 development initiatives 180, 186
 development projects 187, 192
 disability 16, 145, 148–149
 biopsychosocial approach 223–224
 gender and displacement (intersectionality) 15, 221–241
 historical understandings 223
 types 223
 Washington criteria 233, 233n
 see also people with disabilities
 discrimination 214, 237, 250
 internalised ~ 239
 people with disabilities 229–232
 structural ~ 262
 discrimination against women 33–34, 36, 153
 displacement
 gender and disability (intersectionality) 15, 221–241
 displacement camps 212, 214
 dispossession x, xii, 106, 162, 163, 171, 174, 180, 181, 183, 184, 189, 190, 192, 194, 211, 213
 gendered ~ 201, 203–205
 dispute resolution
 community-based ~ (case study) 38–44
 divorce 42, 264
 domestic violence 42–43, 50, 52, 57, 63, 65, 107, 224, 227, 236–237, 263. *See also* gendered violence
 Domosh, M. 214–215
Dreams of Dutiful Daughters (film) 261

- drug abuse 15, 125, **189–190**, 193, 224, 227, 228, 235–236
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 203, 265
- education 105, 106, 150, 191, 212, 215, 230, 256–257
 development ideology (reception, resistance, translation) **71–73**
 fostering relations of care 208
 learners with disabilities **231–232**
 sustainable peacebuilding (4Rs framework) 88
- education missionisation (Metro) 72
- Edwards, P. 258
- ein htaung oo si* (heads of household) **36**, 37, 41, 43, 44
- elections
 (1990) 3–4
 (2010) 9
 (2015) 5, 9, 33, 59
 (2020) 1, 9, 32, 33
- elites 64, 201, 203, 204, 211, 213, 216, 264
- embodied exclusion 201, 204
- empowerment xx, 8, 75, 88, 100, 119, 129, 131, 140, 256, 257
- Enloe, C. 245
- essentialisms 98, 99, 108
- ethnic armed organisations (EAOs) 12, 40, 43–44, 105, 120, 145, 146–147, 150, 171
 women's branches 32
- ethnic minority insurgents 4
- ethnic rights activism **119–122**
- ethnicity 71, 72n, 83, 89, 89n, 107, 173
- ethnography xvi, xvii, 76, 167, 201, 204, 255
- ethnonationalism 13, 119, 120, 123, 130, 132, 133
- European Union 73, 74
- everyday life xi, 14, 18, 255
- exiles 12, 52, 53, 57, 58, 118, 126–127, 261
- family 163, 169, 170, 206, **234–235**, 248, 254, 255
- Faxon, H. O. xvi–xvii, **14**, **159–179**, 204, 264
- fear 188, **191**, 192, 193, 212, 213, 238, 255
- femininity 31, 258, 263
- feminism x, xi, xiii, 51, 53, 64, **257–258**
 intersectional ~ 102
 mainstream understanding 11
- feminist activism 119, 132
- feminist change at grassroots level (Karen State) **13–14**, **150–156**
- feminist institutionalism (FI) **29–30**, 44
 gender and institutional change **30–31**
- feminist mobilisation 8, 9
 ~, resistance, movement building 9, **11–14**, **95–156**
- feminist peacebuilding
 contributions and challenges **12**, **97–117**
- feminist political ecology 14, 160, **162–164**
- feminist political economy 7, 201, 203, 204, 205
- feminist positive peace (Confortini) 100
- feminist research **266–267**
- feminist scholarship 14, 119–120
- feminists 1, 3, 54, 242
- fieldwork xi, xv, 103, 110, 167, 206, 246, 255
- focus group discussions (FGDs) 222, 227
- focus groups 180, 186, 205, 206, 207, 211, 215
- food 188, 194, **208–209**, 225, 246, 256
- football 153, 154
- forced labour 89, 185, 187, 193
- foreign investment 4, 170–171, 187, 187
- formal institutions **35–38**
- four laws 58, 59, 60

- frustration 235–236, 238, 239, 260
 Frydenlund, S. xvii, 15, 200–220
- Gagnon, T. xvii, 16, 242–252
 Galtung, J. 100
- gender 214, 215
 disability and displacement (intersectionality) 15, 221–241
 feminist institutionalism 30–31
 institutional change (local governance settings) 29–49
- gender, disability, conflict (intersectionality)
 gendered expectations and shifting gender roles 234–238
 research methodology 222–224
- gender discrimination: seen as structural 253–267
- gender equality 3, 11, 70–94, 122, 132, 140, 146, 153, 267
 pursuit of ~ (bridging differences) 126–129
 selective reception 89
 UN definition 75
- Gender Equality Network (GEN) 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 66, 104, 126, 223
- gender harmony 11, 70, 71, 73, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91
 pre-2010 curriculum 76–83
- gender inequality x, xii, 4, 53, 55, 60, 64, 161, 258, 259
- gender justice xix, xx, 13, 151
- gender norms 12, 14, 29, 34, 35–38, 98, 99, 138, 163, 171, 193, 254, 258, 259, 262, 263
 defined and contested ~ 16
 future directions 16–19
- gender roles 35–38, 234–238
 challenging, reproducing, transforming 88–91
 possibilities for future 88–91
- gender stereotypes 140, 153
- gendered dispossession 201, 203–205
- gendered division of labour 161, 188, 194, 262
- gendered everyday 182–184, 187, 188, 193, 194
- gendered expectations 234–238
- gendered insecurity 14–15, 180–199
 context, methods, material 184–186
 continuity and change 15, 186–190
 past in present 190–193
 temporal complexity 190–193
- gendered institutions (case study) 38–44
- gendered landscapes 14, 159–179
 transformation 160–162
- gendered power relations 14, 16, 190, 258
- gendered rules 33–35
- gendered transformations 3–8
- gendered violence 200, 260
 peace–war continuum 194
 see also intimate partner violence
- General Administration Department (GAD) 34, 37, 40
- General Council of Burmese Associations 51
- Generation Z 91
- genocide 2, 5
- Gerschick, T. 238
- Gilbert, D. 18
- Goodley, D. 223
- Gramsci, A. 202, 203
- grounded theory approach 104
- Gupta, C. 202–203
- Harnois, C. 102
- Harriden, J. 35
- heads of household 32, 39, 44, 238, 245
 proportion of women (23%) 36
- heads of household: becoming heads of village 33–38
 formal institutions 35–38
 gendered roles 35–38

- gendered rules 33–35
 gendered social norms 34, 35–38
 nested newness 33, 35–38, 45
 heads of village 33–38, 39, 44, 152
 women 244–246
 healthcare 225, 234
 Hedström, J. xvii, 1–26 (14–15), 110,
 120, 180–199, 223, 247
 ‘militarised social reproduction’
 (definition) 88
 hegemony (Gramsci) 202
hijabi women 204
 Hindus 5, 57
 Hindutva communalism 202
 history 71
 HIV-AIDS 233, 255, 260
 Hla Hla Win 211–212
 Hlaing Bwe Township (Kayin State) 40
hluttaw representatives (proportion of
 women (2010, 2015, 2020) 32
 Honest Information (HI) project 138
 household chores 237
 housing 191
hpon 38, 263, 266
 definition 265
hpoun 29, 36, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45
 explanation 35
 Hsa Moo xvii–xviii, 16, 242–252
Htamain Alan Htu (sarong strike) 17,
 266
 human rights xii, xx, 59, 76, 91, 103, 150,
 151, 153, 154
 documentation 123–126, 127, 129
 violations 52, 118, 134, 156, 185
 human security 97, 98, 101, 102–104,
 106, 107, 108, 111
 human trafficking 125–126, 131,
 254–255, 258, 260, 261
 humanitarian aid 38, 52, 102, 104, 121,
 127, 223
 humanitarian crisis 150–151
 hundred-household leaders 35, 39, 41,
 43
 hybrid regime 2, 25
 identity 16, 60, 66, 207
 cultural ~ 105
 national ~ 71, 72n, 105
 ideology 11, 18, 59, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75,
 76, 83, 85, 86, 87, 258
 Ikeya, C. ix–xiii, 89, 92, 202, 204, 266
 Inclusive Access and Quality Education
 project (2014) 75
 India 202–203, 263, 264
 infrastructure xviii, 83, 169, 173, 180,
 186, 189
 insecurities xi, xii, 2, 9, 15, 99, 105, 125,
 163, 180–194, 200, 208, 209, 239
 institutional change
 gender and ~ (local governance
 settings) 29–49
 heads of household becoming heads
 of village 33–38
 methodology 31
 institutions 9–11, 27–94
 feminist institutionalism 30–31
 formal versus informal ~ 10, 30–31
 practice and interplay with actors 31
 internally-displaced persons (IDPs) xx,
 121, 155, 204, 225, 226–229, 232
 Kachin State 221–222
 international advocacy 123–126
 International Alert xix, 17–18
 International Criminal Court (ICC)
 129, 129n8, 242
 international development 11, 70, 70n,
 75
 international development agencies 11,
 70–71, 72, 75, 76, 90
 international donors 4, 11, 123, 124,
 134, 264
 international NGOs (INGOs) 52, 155,
 264
 International Organisation for Migration
 (IOM) 162
 International State Crime Initiative 213

- International Women's Day 54
internet 4, 213
intersectionality xi–xii, 16, 88, 162, 258–259
gender, disability, conflict 221–222
interviews 14, 39, 51, 62, 64, 65, 99, 103, 110, 119, 125, 164, 167, 180, 205, 215, 222, 253, 255, 260
semi-structured ~ 31, 122, 186, 206
intimate partner violence (IPV) 50, 63, 224. *See also* Prevention of Violence Against Women
- Japan 73
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) 70, 74, 75
Johns Hopkins University 125
jungle life 141, 145, 148–149
justice system 38, 124
- Kachin Baptist Convention (KBC) 132, 232
Kachin Independence Army (KIA) 89, 222, 223, 229n13
Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) 13, 90n, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127, 221, 222, 223, 231, 232, 233, 234
civil society links 130
linkages with KWAT 129
male-dominated structures 13, 129–133
Kachin self-determination 132–133, 134
Kachin State xii, 2, 57–58, 103, 119
armed conflict (resurgence, 2011–) 11, 129, 132
ceasefire (1994–2011) 118, 120, 221
gender, disabilities, displacement 15, 221–241
Kachin State Women's Network (KSWN) 104
Kachin Women's Association (KWA) 130
Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT) 11, 118–137, 262
change from within (opportunities and challenges) 129–132
congress (2019) 133
expanding women's alliances 126–129
federal democracy vision 127, 132–133
gender equality pursuit (bridging differences) 126–129
human rights documentation and international advocacy 123–126
Kachin struggle 129–132
leadership skills 130
main office 'in exile throughout transitional period' 11, 127
methods and material 122
transitional political landscape 123–132
war 123–126
Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT): publications
Justice Delayed, Justice Denied (2016) 124
Ongoing Impunity (2012) 124
Pushed to Brink (2013) 125
Silent Offensive (2014) 125
Kachin Women's Peace Network (KWPN) 104, 223
Kalaw Township: Thitahl Thit village 42
Kalaw Township: Yay Phyu Kan village 39
Kamler, E. M. 131
Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN) 242, 243
Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) 244, 246
Karen National Union (KNU) 40, 90n, 106, 162, 167, 247, 248
Karen Peace Council (KPC) 162
Karen State
'Kayin State' 41, 42, 43, 44

- women's leadership for feminist
change at grassroots level 13–14,
150–156
- Karen women 13–14, 150–156, 171, 191
care work as transformative vision for
peace 16, 242–252
'do not need to give up' 250–251
gender roles 152
'involved but not included' 242–252
life-making aspect (acknowledge-
ment) 247–250
'not recognised as front line in
revolution' 243–247
- Karen Women's Organisation (KWO)
xix, 40, 106, 151, 153, 155, 247, 262
'Walking Among Sharp Knives'
(2010 report) 244–245
- Karenni National Progressive Party
(KNPP, 1957–) 141, 146, 185
failure of 1995 ceasefire 186n
- karma* 29, 36, 38, 42, 44, 45
karma paing lin 63–64
- Karuna Myanmar Social Services 232
- Kawkareik 160, 162, 167–170, 173
- Kawthoolei (free Karen homeland) 243
- Kayah State 14, 180, 182, 185, 187, 191, 193
ceasefire agreement 186, 186n
census (2014) 188
- Khin Khin Mra xviii, 10, 29–49, 262
khit kala (modern) woman 89
- Khun Be village 40
- Klem, B. 6
- knowledge: 'partial' versus 'comprehen-
sive' ~ 267
- Kurdish women's activism 120
- Kusakabe, K. 194
- Kutupalong-Balukhali refugee camp 207
- Kyansittha, King 85
- kyat (MMK): exchange rate (2018) 232,
232n23
- labour migration 160, 193
Myanmar to Thailand 167, 168–169
- labour, land, everyday lives 9, 14–16,
157–252
- Laiza 222
- Lall, M. 90
- land 5, 156, 229, 234–235, 264
rural ~ 164–167
stolen ~ 14, 159–179
- land confiscation 161, 163, 178, 185, 192
- land dispossession 189, 192, 194
gendered implications 163, 177
- land reform 160, 204
- land rights 160, 171, 172, 189
- land titling 161, 164, 167, 177
- land use 14, 163, 264
- landmines 221, 222, 224, 225, 229, 233,
238
- language 150, 189, 191
- Laos 164
- Latvia 90
- law 42
- Laws of Manu* (India) 264
- leadership 247, 249, 250, 257
- Legal Aid Network 124
- Levien, M. 163
- LGBTI 18, 64–65
- liberalisation (2011–2021) xi, 8
proceeded without demilitarisation xii
see also democratic transition era
- life history diagrams 186, 196
- life history interviews 14
- linear progression 5, 6
- livelihood: people with disabilities
226–229
- Livingstone, D. xviii, 10, 29–49, 262
- local governance
gender and institutional change
29–49
restructuring (2008 Constitution) 34
- Loikaw 141
- Lopes Cardozo, M. T. A. 73, 88
- Lowndes, V. 31
- Ma Ba Tha (Organisation for Protection
of Race and Religion) 58, 263, 264

- Ma Ein Myo 213
- Ma Khin Mar Mar Kyi xviii, 16, 17
scholar's journey 253–267
- Ma Thida Htwe 202
- Ma Tin Zar Lwin 258
- Maber, E. J. T. 88
- Mackay, F.: 'nested newness' concept
29–30
- Mae Ra Mu camp 106, 151
- Mae Sot 103, 162, 168, 255
- Mahmood, S. 206
- Mandalay Region 31, 173
- Manerplaw 144
- mango tree 166f, 169
- Maria Begum 209–210
- marital rape 54, 62, 63
- marriage ix, xiii, 264
- masculinity 16, 17–18, 31, 204, 258, 259
dilemma of disabled ~ 238
- Mausert, K. 212
- Mawlamyine 40
- McClintock, A. xii–xiii
- McKay, D. 163
- McKay, M. 264
- mechanisation
gendered effects 168
- media 4, 212–213
- men ix, x, xi, xiii, 2, 5, 9, 10, 14–17,
31–44 *passim*, 59, 63, 74, 75, 76,
82–85, 101, 107, 112, 139–140, 142,
143, 190, 208, 260
access to land 162
disabilities 222–239 *passim*
Karen 243–250
Kayah State 180, 186
labour abroad 168–169
land rights and rural development
161
landmine victims 224
Mon State 180
Muslim ~ 202
need to understand about ~ 259
roles 152, 154
torture 187
social media 267
substance abuse 227
see also patriarchy
- Metro, R. xviii, 11, 70–94, 259
- Mi Mi Khaing: *World of Burmese Women*
259
- Mi Sue Pwint xviii–xix, 2, 138–149
background 138, 139
becoming political activist 139–142
becoming revolutionary woman
leader 142–145
challenges 144–145
contributions ignored 144–145
decision-making 144
duty to do right 145–147
mother and revolutionary 148–149
participation in peace process 147
political position papers 144
returning home 145–147
sense of shame 142
trying to forget femaleness 139–142
uprising (1988) 140–142
work 'not easy' 148–149
- migration 102, 160, 162, 163, 193, 260
- military coup (1988) 141, 147
- military coup (2021) xii, 1, 8, 11, 16–17,
37, 50, 60, 65, 67, 71, 99, 102, 109,
139, 150, 181–182, 191, 194, 254,
265–266
building understanding and solidarity
174
emergence of new local defence
forces 185
escalation of fighting (Kachin State)
221
exacerbation of tensions and insecurity
across country 185–186
impact on women's rights 147, 156
political conditions for women's
activism (reshaping) 134
- military dictatorship 2, 3–4
- military junta 3, 10, 17, 18, 150

- military justice system 124
 military leaders: Burman, Buddhist,
 male ~ 72
 military quotas 9–10, 33
 military rule: legacy 31–33
 military–civilian harmony 85, 89
 Miller, A. 238
 Min Aung Hlaing, Senior General 1, 65
 Ministry of Border Affairs 33
 Ministry of Defence 33
 Ministry of Education (MOE) 11, 70,
 71, 74, 75, 76, 87, 89, 90
 Ministry of Home Affairs 33, 37
 Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and
 Resettlement (MoSWRR) 65
 ‘Department of Social Welfare’ 54,
 55, 60–61
 ‘Ministry of Social Welfare’ 62
 Ministry of Women, Youth, Children 258
 mobile bodies, stolen land 14, 159–179
 mobilisation x, xii, xvi, 1, 4, 17, 164, 170,
 171, 172, 173, 245
 Moe Chit 212–213
 Mon State 14, 40, 42, 180, 182, 185,
 191–192, 193
 ceasefire agreement 186
 census (2014) 188
 drug issue 189
 torture 187
 young women (threats faced) 189
 Mon Women’s Organisation (MWO)
 104
 mothers, motherhood ix, 34, 35, 36,
 37, 84, 98, 106, 112, 125, 171, 246,
 256–257, 261
 movements 6, 172
 oppositional ~ 4, 12
 peacebuilding ~ xii
 resistance ~ 2, 151
 see also nationalist movements
 Muhanna-Matar, A. 237–238
 Myanmar Army. *See* *Tatmadaw*
 Myanmar Government xii, 11, 71, 119,
 120, 134, 167, 169, 171
 Myanmar woman (idealised) 263
 Myanmar Women’s Day 65
 Myawaddy 162, 168
 Myeik 171
 Myitkyina 122, 127, 213, 222, 234
 Myitkyina School for Blind 228, 230
 Myittar Resource Foundation 210
 Myrntinen, H. xix, 15, 221–241
 Na Sa Ka 208, 209, 216
 Nann Z 168, 169
nat spirits (*nat kadaw*) 18
 Nation Action Plan for Advancement of
 Women 55
 National Ceasefire Agreement (NCA)
 128–129, 146, 185
 national ceasefire process 2, 138, 145
 National Education Strategic Plan
 (NESP, 2016) 70, 74, 75
 national identity 71, 72n, 105
 National League for Democracy (NLD)
 5, 58
 assumed office (2015) 59–60
 drafting of national land law 161
 weak (ethnic issues) 146
 National Mon State Party 90n
 National Unity Government (NUG) 1,
 17, 91, 258
 nationalism xi, 51–52, 66, 260, 263
 protection of ‘race and religion’
 58–60
 nationalist movements 13, 120, 253. *See*
 also social movements
 Naujoks, Jana xix, 15, 221–241
 Naw K’nyaw Paw xix, 13–14, 150–156,
 262
 growing up in war zone 151–152
 Karen women and revolutionary
 change 152–154
 transitional change and military
 coup (impact on women’s rights)
 154–156
 ‘women capable of doing anything’
 152–154

- Naw Zipporah Sein 106
 Naypyidaw 123, 159
 NCUB 144
 Ne Win, General 3, 4
 negative peace (Galtung) 100
 nested newness 33, 35–38, 45, 262
 New Approaches to Myanmar History
 (conference, 2014) ix–xi
 New Mon State Party (NMSP, 1958–)
 185
 Nhkum Bu Lu 223
 non-governmental organisations
 (NGOs) 52, 222, 229, 254, 264
 non-profit organisations 211, 242
 Northern Ireland 104, 120
 NVivo software 104
 Nyein Foundation 232
- oil palm 160, 170, 171
 Olivius, E. xix–xx, 1–26 (14–15), 110,
 120, 123, 128, 180–199
 oral history 205, 206, 215
 organisations xx, 2, 13, 70
 elite international feminist ~ 205
 grassroots ~ 110
 intergovernmental ~ 72, 100
 othering 203, 204
 Oxford-Myanmar Policy Brief Series 253
- pa'wa* (headscarves) 204
 palm tree 166f, 172
 Pandey, G. 202–203
 Panties for Peace movement (2007) 265
 parliamentary democracy era
 (1948–1962) 3
 participant observation 104, 119, 122,
 255
 participatory action research 164, 170
 participatory photography 160, 173, 174
 patriarchal institutions xi, xii, 45, 265
 patriarchal politics 8, 248
 patriarchal practices ix, 13, 262
 patriarchal system 64, 255, 265
 patriarchy 18, 153, 163, 204, 245
 Burman hegemony 202
 and capitalism 242, 243, 247
 cultural norms 170
 entrenchment 45
 'has support of both men and
 women' 64
 intertwined oppressiveness 58, 65
 privilege and power 257, 259, 267
 structural changes needed 133
 peace 76, 85
 care work as transformative vision for
 ~, 16, 242–252
 peace activism 98
 peace advocacy 108–112
 peace negotiations 2, 16, 97, 103, 109,
 138, 180, 193
 peace process (2011–) 12, 99, 100, 101,
 102, 108, 110, 111, 112, 145–147,
 180, 184–185, 186–187, 262
 'no improvement' 192
 women's participation 128
 peace research 6–7
 peacebuilding
 feminist contributions and challenges
 12, 97–117
 holistic ~ 97, 98, 99–108
 people with disabilities
 men (loss of primary breadwinner
 status) 226–227, 234–239
 support services lacking 232–234
 people with disabilities: concerns
 224–232
 livelihood 226–229
 safety and security 225–226
 stigmatisation and discrimination
 229–232
 Pepper, M. 12, 97–117
 Phone Maw 140
 photovoice 160, 167, 169, 170, 171, 174
 origins 164
 Phyu Phyu Tin 212
 Pinkaew Leungaramsri 120

- plantation work 228
- Police Act (1945) 64
- policy practice gap (Lall) 90
- policy-making 9–11, 27–94
- polio 226n, 228n8, 230, 231, 236n31
- political economy xvii, 162, 164, 182, 211
- violent ~ xii, 216
- see also* feminist political economy
- political reform
- institutional change and ~ 33–38
- political transitions 3–8
- Political Transitions and Gendered Transformations*
- book aim 2
- broader feminist scholarship 6–7
- historical corrective 3
- multi-disciplinary feminist approach 7
- primary focus 4
- relationship between gender, conflict and transitional politics 6
- theoretical and methodological approaches 6
- understanding of ‘gender’ 7–8
- Political Transitions and Gendered Transformations: book themes 9–16*
- feminist mobilisation, resistance, movement building 9, 11–14, 95–156
- interplay of change and continuity 9
- labour, land, everyday lives 9, 14–16, 157–252
- transitional politics, institutions, policy-making 9–11, 27–94
- polygamy xiii, 58, 59
- positionality 74
- positive peace (Galtung) 101
- post-war contexts 7, 15, 182, 183, 191, 192, 193, 201, 216
- post-war transitions 6, 180, 181, 184, 194, 200, 208
- poverty 140, 150, 184, 186, 209, 216, 232, 238
- power asymmetries 31, 43, 44
- power dynamics 32, 33–35
- Prasse-Freeman, E. 203, 212
- Prevention of Violence Against Women (PoVAW) bill 10, 50–64 *passim*, 87, 263
- drafting (2014–2020) 65, 66–67
- passage ‘unfinished business’ 65, 67
- public consultation (2020) 66
- see also* sexual violence
- prostitution 254, 255
- protests 1, 2, 140, 141, 261
- pwè* 260, 262, 265
- Quadrini, M. xx, 13–14, 150–156
- qualitative research 222
- quality of life 230
- quotas 9–10, 33, 131
- race 162, 215, 265
- race and religion (protection) xiii, 58–60, 202, 263, 264
- racial capitalism 203, 214
- racism 200, 255
- Radio Free Asia (RFA) 250
- Rahman, F. 204
- Rakhine State xii, 2, 5, 173
- pogroms (2012) 200, 202, 216
- violence and women’s interethnic relationships 15, 200–220
- Rakhine women 15, 200–220
- Rangoon Police Act (1899) 64
- rape 43, 54, 62, 87, 131, 147, 150, 188, 202, 236
- reforms 3, 5, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 31, 34, 38, 53, 57, 66, 73, 118, 126, 180, 184–185, 192, 193, 202, 204
- refugee camps 102–108 *passim*, 154, 155, 200, 204, 206, 207, 250
- IDPs 222, 225, 226–229, 233, 234–238
- relations of care 203, 208, 209, 210, 213, 215, 216

- religion xii, xiii, xx, 4, 7, 36, 45, **58–60**, 66, 202, 258–265 *passim*
- remittance infrastructures 173
- remittance landscapes (McKay) 163, 170, 177
- remittances 162, 169
- resistance xvii, 1, 2, 3, 8, 29, 30, 65, **71–73**, **83–84**, 182, 185, 266
feminist mobilisation, ~, movement
building 9, **11–14**, **95–156**
interfaith ~ 160, 173
- rice thresher **165f**, 168
- road-building 155, 156, 168, 169
- Rohingyas x, 2, 5, 15, 57, 58, **200–220**
memories of pre-transition life
207–211
- rural areas 5, 14, 187, 208, 248
- rural women **159–179**
- safety and security (people with disabilities) **225–226**
- Saw Mon Nyin: *Myanmar Amyothami (Women of Burma)* 259
- securitisation 7, 201, 203, 208, 214, 215
- self-determination: Karen ~ 242
- semi-civilian rule 5, 29, 33, 35, 44, 193, 216
- semi-democratic regime 2, 185
- sex workers 262
- sexism x, 71, 214, 255
- sexual abuse 87, 89, 150, 224
- sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)
targeting people with disabilities
225–226
- sexual violence 52–53, 54, 57, 58, 62, 67, 87, 124, 131, 147, 185, 208, 221, 244, 263. *See also* violence
- sexuality 7, 18, 258, 263
- Shafika **207–208**, 212, 215
- Shah, R. 73
- Shan State 38–44 *passim*, 57–58, 186
- Shinsawpu, Queen 85, 88
- Shuttleworth, R.: dilemma of disabled masculinity 237–238
- Silova, I. 90
- Sittwe 200, 206, 211, 214
- slave education 72, 91, 93
- Smith, M. 121
- social change 112, **264–265**, 267
- social inclusion 11, 70, 73, 76
- social media 1, 213, 266, 267
- social movements 54, 98, 99, 173. *See also* women's movement
- social norms 31, 41, 42, 44, 45, 61
- social reproduction 88–89, 193, 205, 209, 242–243, 247, 248
- social transformation **247**
- solar panels 168, 169
- Southeast Asia 9, 32, 50, 162
labour migration (feminist scholarship) 163
land grabbing 163
- Spring Revolution (2021) 17, 265
- state, as 'predatory, extractive, violent' 192–193
- State Administration Council (2021) 1
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. 70n, 71, 72–73, 74, 76n4, 90
- stereotypes 17, 259
- stigma 61, 87, 224, 225, 239
people with disabilities **229–232**
- stress 146, 149, 224, 235, 244, 251
- students xi, 1, 82, 89, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 173, 174, 213, 231, 261, 266
- su taun bweh* (prayer ceremony) **167f**, **172–173**, 174
- Sumlut Roi Ja 124–125
- Supreme Court 125
- Syria 237–238
- Tai Leng people 229, 229n13
- taleem* (women-only religious spaces) 204
- Tarlawgyi (multi-ethnic area) 229n13
- Tas, L. 120

- Tatmadaw (Myanmar Army) 12, 89,
119, 121, 127, 131, 134, 150, 155,
187–189, 208, 209, 221, 226, 244
air strikes in Kayah State (2021) 185
brutality (Karen State) 154
mobilisation of soldiers 17
- Taunggyi (Shan State) 39
- Tavoyan Women's Union 163
- tea shops **139–140**, 233–234
- ten-household leaders 35, 39, 41
- textbooks 11, 70, 71, 76
first-grade Myanmar reader (2017)
85
first-grade social studies (2017) 84
kindergarten Myanmar reader
(2009) 82
life skills 87, 89
second-grade English 83–84
second-grade morality and civics
(2018) 83
second-grade science (2018) 84
third-grade English 83, 86
third-grade geography and history
82, 85
third grade Myanmar reader (2016) 81f
third-grade social studies 85, 88
- thaa goh thakin; liin goh phaya* concept
36
- Thailand 11, 120, 144, 242, 243,
254–255, 258, 260, 261
migrants from Myanmar 102–103
- Thailand–Myanmar border xx, 12, 98,
102–103, 104, 105, 151, 152, 185
- thamein* (marker of Burmese identity)
207
- thanakha* 256
- Tharaphi Than 88, 202, 266
- Thein Sein, U 2, 4, 74, 145, 146, 161
- Third World feminism 205
- thugyi* (village head) **36–37**, 44
- Tin Myo Win 146
- torture 145, 147, **187**, 244
- tractors 168, 169
- transgender women **64–65**
transparency 75, 76n4
trauma 181, 182, 191, 206, 233
- Treadwell, B. A. 73, 76, 82
- trust, distrust 62, 87, 103, 193, 212, 213
- twofold activism (ethnic rights and
women's rights) **119–122**
- Understanding 'Buddhist Nationalism'
in Myanmar (research project)
253–254
- Union Solidarity and Development
Party (USDP) 55, 59, 60
- United Kingdom: Department for
International Development 74
- United Nations 61, 74, 75
UN Guiding Principles on Internal
Displacement 232
UN Secretary General's list of parties
involved in sexual violence 57
UN Security Council Resolution
#1325 100
- UNDP Human Development Index
105
- UNESCO 74
- UNFPA 55, 60
- UNHCR resettlement programme
(2008) 155
- UNICEF 70, 74–75
- United States 73, 74, 90, 258
Department of State xix
Jim Crow America 214
- University: Australian National ~ 253
University of Mandalay 173, 174
University of Oxford 253–254, 257, 262
University of Toronto 253
University of Yangon ix, 139
- UPDJC 147
- uprising (1988) 4, 52, **140–142**, 261, 266
- village tracts 40
definition 34

- see also* ward and village tract administrators
 villages 159, 167
 destruction of ~ 185
 see also heads of village
 violence 12, 14, 174, 181, 189, 214
 anti-Muslim ~ 200, 202, 204, 207, 209
 armed ~ 180, 181
 gender-based ~ **255–256**, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 267
 Rakhine State 15, **200–220**
 structural ~ 188, **255–256**, 260
 see also communal violence
 violence against women (VAW) 10, 50, 52–53, 55–56, 57, 87, 147
 awareness-raising 54
 evidence-based policy-making (lacking) **60–65**
 Kachin community 131
 serious social problem 54–55
 structural ~ 15, 193
 under-reporting 61
 visual impairment and blindness **227**, 228, 230, 231, 232n21, 233

 ‘wages of whiteness’ (Du Bois) 265
 Wai Wai Nu **xx**, **15**, **200–220**
 Rohingya legal scholar 205
 Walton, M. J. **xx**, 16, **253–267**
 war **xii**, **xiii**, 1, 2, 5, 17, 57, 112, 119, 121, 125, 132, 147, 148, 221, 234, 238, 245. *See also* post-war transitions
 war crimes 128, 150
 war zones **151–152**
 ward administration (urban areas) 34
 Ward and Village Tract Administration Law (2012) 29, **34–35**, 37–41, 45
 ward and village tract administrators (W&VTAs) 30, 31, 43–44
 women (0.5%) 29, 35
 welfare services
 state provision (absence) 186, 191, 193

 wife-beating 63–64
 women **xii–xiii**, 171
 alliances (expanding) **126–129**
 capacity-building 150
 concerns 107
 discrimination against ~ **32**
 high status in Burma (notion challenged) 88
 informal networks 100, 105
 land dispossession 189, 194
 mobilisation, activism, policy-making **10–11**, **50–69**
 resistance campaigns against military rule **1–2**, 3
 roles (case study) **38–44**
 women: interethnic relationships (Rakhine State) **15**, **200–220**
 methodology **205–207**
 Rakhine women’s experiences **211–215**
 Rohingya memories **207–211**
 women carers 224, 225–226, 234, 239, **244–246**, 247–248
 women’s activism 11, 12, 33, **51–53**, 55, 103, 110, 118, **119–122**
 collecting data **102–104**
 holistic peacebuilding **99–102**
 reshaped during transition era 129, 132
 women’s groups 53, 54, 59, 97
 ‘not homogenous’ **56–58**
 women’s leadership 130
 feminist change at grassroots level (Karen State) **13–14**, **150–156**
 legitimacy 40
 see also leadership
 Women’s League of Burma (WLB, 1999–) 12, 52, 57, 58, 66, 104, 110, 121, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 138, 146, 262
 women’s movement 4–5, 9, 51, 52, 66, 98, 99, 143, 264
 effective ~ 97

- internal divisions 56
see also movements
- women's organisations 10, 12, 38, 55, 56, 102–111 *passim*, 118, 119, 123, 127
- Women's Organisations Network (WON) 53–54, 57, 58, 122, 126
- women's participation 12, 122, 132, 133, 138, 141, 144, 146, 147, 262
- women's policy advocacy
 challenges and obstacles 56–65
 nationalism 58–60
 opportunities 53–56
 protection of 'race and religion' 58–60
 violence against women 60–65
- women's rights 17, 52, 55, 56, 59, 60, 119–122, 146, 153, 154, 159, 245, 249, 258
 future 108–112
 Karen State 151
- women's work 99, 113
- Wong, M. ix
- World Bank 74, 75, 76, 76n4, 90, 169
- Yangon 18, 103, 122, 123, 171, 174
 headquarters of women's organisations 134
 uprising (1988) 140
 WLB secretariat 126
yangonthu (people from Yangon) 159
yat mi yat pha (village elders) 37, 43, 44, 45
- Yay Phyu Kan village 39
- yin kyaе hmu* (politeness and deference) 29, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45
- Yunnan 126
- Zin Mar Phyo xx, 14–15, 138–149, 180–199
- Zinn Zinn 214
- Zoom 254